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ABSTRACT

The effect of Benito Mussolini and the Fascist movement in post World War I Italy on the university is examined with focus on the Fascist-Catholic struggle for Italian youth during the time span 1922-1943. Discussed is the attempt of the Gioventie Universitaria Fascista (GUF), the official organization of the university students and the cornerstone of Fascist influence among the educational elite, to dominate educational thought and practice. The efforts of the GUF were hampered by he Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (FUCI) who kept active the influence of the Catholic Church within higher education. The presence of the FUCI and the GUF are discussed in detail, highlighting their activities and priorities such as FUCI's commitment to Catholic Action (social action) and GUF's introduction and involvement in athletic events, a Fascist innovation at the universities. The analysis provided is that although GUF membership outweighed that of FUCI, GUF was never able to absorb the Catholic students or to cripple their organization by infiltration. It is concluded that the effect of Fascism on the universities dissipated as the GUF weakened and the young members of FUCI took lead in the reconstruction of a Christian democratic Italy at the end of the war. References and a chart listing membership data for FUCI from 1928-1943 are provided. (LC)

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THE UNIVERSITY UNDER MUSSOLINI: THE FASCIST-CATHOLIC STRUGGLE FOR ITALIAN YOUTH, 1922-1943*

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INTRODUCTION

The rise of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist movement in post World War I Italy did much to revolutionize European concepts of education. Within a short time of the 1922 March on Rome which brought the Fascists to power, educational theorists sympathetic to the new regime began to draw distinctions between education ("the reality of life") and instruction ("the realm of academics"), the former being viewed as the strict preserve of the State.[1] The Italian Fascists, setting an example for their more efficient Nazi counterparts across the Alps, took an all-inclusive view of the State's educational mission. No longer was it sufficient to control various aspects of formal education, teacher training, the formation of curricula, the supervision of textbooks and the setting of admissions policies, for the Fascists believed it their duty to extend the State's influence on the youth beyond the classroom walls. In short, the arrival of Mussolini's Blackshirts in Rome ushered in an age of government sponsored youth organizations, reaching from the very youngest to the very oldest of students.

Yet despite all the Duce's efforts, Italian education during the Fascist period was never rigidly monolithic, for a rather surprising diversity existed in matters of schooling. This was so, largely because of the powerful presence of the Roman Catholic Church in so many aspects of Italian ife. Not only did Catholic schools in the Fascist period continue to function, but also with the promulgation of the Riforma Gentile, their leaving certificates were for the first time considered equivalent to those of the public schools. Furthermore, it was the government of the Duce which, much to the satisfaction of the Vatican,

extended state recognition to the degrees of the Catholic University of Milan. This is not to say, however, that Fascism simply welcomed competition in Italian education. Rather, Mussolini began his rule with his much publicized educational concessions to the Church in order to gain Vatican support for the suppression of the Catholic Partitio Popolare. In this, the Duce was quite successful. By 1926 Don Luigi Sturzo and other leaders of the Popolari were dispersed or silenced and Mussolini was able to turn his attention to the clipping of Catholicism's wings in the educational sphere. As a result, relations between the Church and State worsened progressively, reaching their nadir in the 1931 crisis over the issue of Catholic youth movements.[2]

Historians generally agree that Fascist influence, although strongly felt in the elementary levels of Italian education, had only a passing effect upon the university.[3] Despite the celebrated 1931 loyalty oath administered to the professoriat, the university curricula were virtually untouched by the Fascist authorities who preferred to reach the students through activities outside the classroom. This was attempted through the Gioventù Universitaria Fascista (GUF), the official organization of university students and the cornerstone of Fascist influence among this educational elite.[4] However, the government was not alone in its recognition of the importance of capturing the future leaders of Italian society. In fact, the Catholic Church had been active in this camp for almost forty years through its own youth group, the Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (FUCI), an autonomous wing of Catholic Action under the protection of the Holy See.

By and large, the leaders and members of each student organization held very different views about the nature of Church-State relations, the role of Catholicism in education and the merits of the new Fascist Order. The tensions

between the Church and State in Fascist Italy were often reflected in the poor relations between the GUF and the FUCI, but even during periods of relative calm between the Vatican and the Italian government (notably 1935-1939), the Fascist and the Catholic university students were often at odds. Both Mussolini and Pius XI must have known that in the struggle for the Italian elite there could be no compromise, for the futures of their respective ideologies depended largely upon their success in influencing society's young professionls. In many respects, it was here on the campuses of Italy's twenty-six universities that Fascism met, and failed to vanquish, its greatest foe: the FUCI and the young Christian Democrats trained in its ranks.

The GUF and the FUCI

In 1928 Mussolini demonstrated the degree to which he valued the work of the GUF among the university students by appointing the then National Secretary of the Fascist Party, Augusto Turati, to the post of "Capo di GUF". Turati held this position, which placed him at the head of an organization of some 4 ,000 students enrolled in the faculties of the universities and the "istituti superiori" and divided into male, female and foreign student sections, until his replacement in 1931 by Carlo Scorza, the former Party chief of Lucca and intimate of the Duce.[5] At the same time, Scorza, like Turati, was made the Party Secretary, a position which he held until the fall of the regime in 1943.

Although autonomous from the structure of the university which was under the control of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the GUF was firmly positioned within the hierachy of the Fascist youth movements. Members of the GUF were expected to have passed through the Balilla and the Avaguardista

before joining the university group.[6] This requirement was designed to exclude the less than enthusiastic Fascists who regarded membership in the GUF merely as a passport to future professional success. Under Scorza, however, the martial preparation a youngster received in the lower levels of the Fascist youth organizations was apparently not considered sufficient and in 1930 the Fascio Giovanili di Combattimento was formed. Designed for young men from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one in order to foster "moral, spiritual and warlike education", these fasci included GUF members of the appropriate age group who were required to enroll.[7] This injection of a militaristic spirit into the rather frivolous life style of the university students eventually took some root, as reflected in the pages of the GUF's weekly newspaper, Libro e Moschetto, the title of which was taken from the organization's motto: "Libro e Moschetto, fascista perfetto".[8]

Aside from their strutting about in uniform as members of the Fascio Giovanili di Combattimento, Fascist university students were involved in a series of activities, ranging from propaganda lectures to patriotic rallies to sporting and cultural events. Undoubtedly, the introduction of athletic events, a Fascist innovation at the universities, was most popular among the students and a great deal of prestige surrounded the awarding of the "Coppa di Duce" each year, but the Party hierarchy was more concerned about graduating young professionals thoroughly trained in Fascist ideology. Consequently, the leadership of the GUF consistently supported cultural activities which, in fact, met with surprising success among the students. The annual "Littoriali", a national competition of written, oral and artistic presentations in all disciplines, became a mainstay of the GUF cultural program in 1934 and attracted much attention at the universities and in the press. Perhaps, however, the "Littoriali" had a side effect as undesirable as it was unexpected to the Fascist authorities, for as Edward Tannenbaum observed:

> The oral debates...were the freest forum in Fascist Italy, the only place where serious criticism of the regime was possible.[9]

Given the great number of students enrolled in the GUF, it is difficult to believe that the overwhelming majority were more than nominal members. If we are to judge from the correspondence of Scorza, apathy among the GUF members seemed to be a perrenial source of concern to the Fascist leader and receeded only during the sporting events and the "Littoriali" competitions. In 1931, for example, he wrote to Mussolini:

> "The masses in the universities are not yet what the Duce wants... Among university students those farthest from us are students of juris prudence, literature, philosophy: The abstract subjects... I have found among the university students a lively sense of autonomy in their relations with the Party, and a spirited disregard of disciplinary and hierarchical bonds.[10]

Yet, one cannot easily discount the extensive influence of the organization. In truth, no matter what the attitude of most of the rank and file, there were certainly enough militants in the GUF and sufficient support from the regime to give it an obvious presence on the university campuses of interwar Italy.

For Catholic students of the Fascist period, there were also a series of youth organizations which were, for the most part, under the auspices of Catholic Action. Vigorously supported by Pope Pius XI who wished to be remembered as the "pope of Catholic Action", these groups, including the Gioventù Cattolica Italiana, the Catholic Boy Scouts and the Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana, offered an alternative to the government controlled organizations. Although a branch of Catholic Action, the FUCI enjoyed considerable autonomy and generally cultivated direct relations with the Vatican rather than working through the channels of command familiar to other Catholic groups.

Founded in 1896, the Federazione had a long association with the nascent Christian democratic movement of Don Luigi Sturzo and these close ties with the left of center Partito Popolare were often loudly proclaimed by the Catholic students. For example, at their 1919 National Congress in Rome a motion was adopted characterizing the goal of the FUCI as leading to:

> ...the moral and intellectual preparation of the young in order to render them tomorrow good combatants in the camp of the Partito Popolare.[11]

It is no wonder, then, that in the turbulent years following World War I, the Fascists identified the Federazione with their political foes, the Popolari, and made the Catholic university students the object of their special brand of violence.

The Catholic students of the FUCI were separated into male and female branches, members being known respectively as "fucini" and "fucine". At the head of each division was a lay president and an ecclesiastical assistant, both appointed by the Vatican. The work of the movement was to be concentrated in three major areas: "...social action, the apostolate to university students, and full adherence to the work of Catholic Action."[12] For much of the Fascist period, the Federazione was led by Igino Righetti as president and Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Pope Paul VI, as ecclessiatical assistant, while toward the close of the Mussolini era, men such as Aldo Moro and Giulio Andreotti, both prominent postwar politicians, served as presidents, thus renewing the link between Christian democracy and the FUCI.

While many of the activities of the Federazione were cultural and intellectual and not overtly political, the Catholic students, especially under Righetti and Montini (1925-1934), made little attempt to disguise their political views. In their publications Azione Fucina and Studium, the fucini

championed neo-Scholastic philosophy and in the process attacked Giovanni Gentile, the Idealist philosopher of Fascism,[13] urged the acceptance of the broadest possible interpretation of the Church's rights in civil society,[14] opposed the formal peace between the papacy and the Italian state ("Conciliazione") and the Lateran Accords,[15] vigorously supported the pope in his attacks on Fascist educational theory,[16] and consistently criticized Hitler and the racial theories of Nazism.[17] It was not, in fact, the strictly religious activities of the Federazione, such as the "scuole di religione" or the "attività missionaria," which upset the Fascist authorities, but rather the politically militant spirit of the Catholic students. Recognizing a certain hostility towards the regime within the ranks of the fucini, the government looked suspiciously even upon the Federazione's charitable work among the city poor, for Mussolini did not care to have the people reminded by these Catholic students that Fascism had failed to deal with the persistent poverty of the underclasses. The leaders of the GUF, in fact, complained about this activity as a thinly disguised effort on the part of the fucini to spread their political and social ideals among the people. In 1934, the secretary of the GUF in Viterbo wrote:

> "Among the activities of the FUCI, I believe it necessary to emphasize a kind of charitable work called the 'Bread of St. Vincent": members of the FUCI visit needy families, bringing with them coupons to buy bread, milk, clothing, etc. and, at the same time, they do not let them forget where this help came from, (thus) exaggerating the spiritual and material advantages derived from joining the association (FUCI)" [18]

To the Fascist hierarchy, this irksome organization of university students was thorn in the side of the regime, but the government realized that its extraction would be no mean task. In fact, it was an achievement never fully realized by Mussolini and his henchmen. Unswervingly supported by the

pope who termed them the "apple of the Holy Father's eye"[19] and protected insofar as the existence of Catholic Action was guaranteed in the 1929 concordat, the fucini remained organized throughout the interwar period. Nonetheless, their lot was not an easy one, and relations between the Catholic students and their fascist counterparts in the GUF were often strained, sometimes violent and, only for a very brief period, harmonious.

Campus Violence: Clashes Between the GUF and the FUCI

Although cooperation between Catholic and Fascist authorities in Italy became increasingly common after 1931, the leaders of the GUF and the FUCI seemed to find it difficult to come to any genuine understanding. Aside from the persistent and mutual animosoty between the students themselves which complicated matters, the realization by both the Church and the State of the importance of wielding influence among the nation's intellectual elite made compromise in the realm of the university extremely unlikely. Pius XI may have acquiesced in the suppression of the Catholic Boy Scouts in 1929 and in termination of the sporting activities of Catholic Action in 1931, but he would never suffer the liquidation of the Federazione.

Tensions between the GUF and the FUCI ran very high at least until 1934 when public manifestation of hostility decreased markedly. The violent street clashes, their causes rooted in the Fascist belief that the Federazione was protecting ex-members of the illegal Partito Poplare while deliberately training an anti-Fascist elite[20] were extremely common in the twenties and even more frequent during the Crisis of 1931. The most notable single incident of this period was the 1926 disruption by Fascist students of the FUCI's National Congress at Macerata.[21] This attack, which resulted in the removal of the convention to the more friendly city of Assissi, prompted strong

episcopal and papal protests to the Duce himself.[22] However, the events at Macerata paled in comparison to the violence of 1931 when the fucini were openly condemned by the regime, their organization temporarily suppressed, and their leaders forced to take refuge behind the walls of the Vatican.[23]

Even the signing of the much celebrated Lateran Accords in 1929 did not lessen the tension between the Fascist and Catholic students. Rather the situation only seemed to worsen as the GUF's call for cooperation between the FUCI and itself[24] was interpreted by the Catholic leadership as an attempt to weaken the Federazione. Indeed, both Righetti and Montini opposed the signing of the Lateran Accords and the overwhelming majority of fucini expressed disatisfaction with the Vatican decision to make peace with Fascism.[25]

The Crisis of 1931 saw the culmination of years of "bad blood" between the GUF and the FUCI. Vague innuendo gave way to open fascist charges of treason against the Catholic students[26] who in turn accused the Fascists of anti-clericalism.[27] Violence against the fucini was widespread throughout Italy, and the pope himself publicly condemned the government's attempts to intimidate and even dissolve the organization of Catholic students:

> "And here we find ourselves in the presence of a... proposal... to monopolize completely the young, from the tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood and for the exclusive advantage of a Party, of a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into true and real pagan worship of the state which is no less in contrast with the natural rights of the family than it is in contradiction to the supernatural rights of the church.[28]

Naturally, the intensity of the hostility between these two student groups compelled their leaders to supervise closely membership policies. Prior to the 1929 Conciliazione, for example, Righetti and Montini simply refused to permit the fucini to hold simultaneous membership in the GUF. Since the Vatican did not technically recognize the legality of the Italian State, this course of action was quite simple to justify and Righetti frequently forced the presidents of Local FUCI chapters to relinquish their

membership cards in the GUF or be ousted from office.[29] However, in the wake of the Lateran Accords, this FUCI policy appeared specifically anti-Fascist and the journals of the GUF were quick to point this out. Within the Federazione itself, the debate over the membership issue was lively, with Righetti in 1930 expressing concern over "infiltrations" of the leadership by Fascist students and insisting upon their exclusion from the Catholic organization. Monsignor Montini for his part agreed that the presence of Fascist students within the ranks of the Federazione posed some danger, but, more cautious than his colleague, he argued that elections of GUF members to local positions of authority be systematically reviewed but not necessarily forbidden by the national president.[30]

The problem of simultaneous membership in the GUF and the FUCI was abruptly and arbitrarily solved in March 1931 when Carlo Scorza in the midst of the Catholic-Fascist crisis issued a directive ordering all GUF members to resign from the FUCI or face expulsion from the Fascist organization.[31] This victory by the more extreme elements in the Party was shortlived, as Mussolini within months pragmatically moved to end the crisis.
In September, Scorza's order was revoked and a compromise was reached between the Vatican and the regime. The upshot of this agreement was seen in the increasing numbers of fucini enrolled in the GUF (almost 50% by 1936), a trend that the FUCI leadership was powerless to stem. Righetti and Montini's strict prohibition against simultaneous membership was lifted, but the new president of the Federazione, Giovanni Ambrosetti, remained steadfastly opposed to Catholic student leaders' involvement in the GUF. In an internal memorandum, Ambrosetti voiced his reservations concerning cooperation with the Fascist students:

> The FUCI believes the only possible contact with the GUF is: (a) to permit those members who wish---exclusive of the leadership---to take membership in the GUF; (b) to make arrangements (with the GUF) for certain events (e.g., conferences, religious functions).[32]

The close cooperation between the Catholic hierarchy and the Mussolini government which began with the 1931 September compromise seemed to have little effect upon the sentiments of most fucini. Although they took advantage of the relaxed membership policies and joined the GUF in increasing numbers, they generally did so to avoid suspicion and to enhance their changes for employment upon graduation. Indeed this phenomenon was commonly recognized by the leaders of the GUF:

> The majority of university students enrolled in the FUCI are also enrolled in the GUF. However, I believe that they hold GUF membership cards only because they believe it necessary to further their future professional lives.[33]

Reflecting this duplicity, FUCI documents constantly complained about the GUF: that their activities on campuses were often offensive to Catholic students, that the Fascist students "attended Mass only when the celebration takes on a political and patriotic tone, like commemorations of the war dead", and that the religion course for the GUF was a complete failure due to a lack of attendance.[34] Throughout the decades of Fascist rule, the correspondence of the FUCI leaders was replete with harsh words for the GUF and characterizations of the organization as "contrary to Christian Spirit" and "morally offensive" to Catholic students.[35] So strong were the anti-Fascist feelings of most students in the Federazione that they did not hesitate to criticize, anonymously of course, the Church hierarchy for pro-Mussolini sentiments. In 1930, for example, a group of fucini signing themselves "members of your diocese", responded to the archbishop of Milan's praise of Fascism with an acerbic letter severely critical of the prelate's views:

> No, Emminence, neither Catholic Italy which was a victim (of Fascism), nor the pope could bless the violent and bloody conquest of Fascism...but what is more important, the pope not only could not, but in fact never did bless Fascism.[36]

Obviously, the hostile and uncompromising attitudes of the fucini did not go unnoticed in Fascist circles. In their meeting halls and in the pages of their publications, the students of the GUF vilified the Catholic students and accused them of subversive political activity and anti-Fascist sympathies.[37] Carlo Scorza himself was thought to have instigated the worst of the violence against the fucini[38] and contemptuously referred to the Catholic students' criticisms of the Fascist Order as nothing more than "splashes of mud by frogs on the trunk of the great Fascist tree"[39] Even after the close of the 1931 Fascist campaign against the youth organizations of the Church, Fascist authorities continued to expell individual students from the GUF because of their "overly zealous" work on behalf of the FUCI[40] and as late as 1938 local GUF chapters persisted in "intimidation...against those who continued their adherence to the FUCI."[41]

The Italian intervention in World War II further widened the breech between the Fascist and Catholic students. Naturally, the GUF enthusiastically rallied to the banner of the Duce, thanking him for the opportunity finally to wage war,[42] but the FUCI under Aldo Moro demonstrated a decided coolness towards an adventure which forced Italian soldiers to march at the side of the Nazis. No more astute than the leaders of the GUF, the prefect of Padova in a 1942 report warned of FUCI indifference to the fate of the Fascist government:

> The young universitari enrolled in the Catholic organization are all anti-Fascists. They show off their great love for the Fatherland and many of them have already sacrificed their lives in the war, but they have a mentality all their own; they say to themselves "love the Fatherland and the king to the supreme sacrifice", but they are not Fascists.[43]

And in the same year, the secret police, in a report to the Minister of Interior, contended that even the spiritual retreats of the fucini were laced with political topics and that it would be unwise to believe that the Catholic students held any sympathy for the Fascist regime:

> The opinion of the members of the FUCI concerning the Fascist Regime is not very flattering. In fact, the Fascist Regime is considered as existing outside the bounds of the moral and human laws prescribed by Catholicism, not only for its theory, but also for its practical actions. The racial politics, propoganda based on the words of the Duce trying to convince the people to hate the enemy, and the alliance with non-Catholics are three points which are very much criticized.[44]

Within a year of the writing of this report, Mussolini was ousted from power and Italy headed by the king and Marshal Badoglio had withdrawn from the war against the Allies. True, Fascist resistence continued in the north in the sham Salò Republic, but for Fascism the struggle was over: the struggle not only for Italy itself, but also for the Italian youth.

Conclusion

During the Mussolini years, Catholic and Fascist forces fought an always persistent, sometimes violent battle for the minds and hearts of Italian university students. Destined for positions of power and influence in a nation with an elitist system of higher education, these students were certainly a prize worth the effort. In terms of numbers, there were always many more GUF members than there were fucini, but statistics do not in this case stand alone. Despite unwavering opposition from the State and even occasional resistence from clerical-fascist elements in the Church, the FUCI largely remained a preserve of the Christian democratic ideals of Luigi Sturzo and his Popolari. And although the effort was not lacking, the GUF was never able to absorb the Catholic students or to cripple their organization by infiltration. Sullenly resigned to the continued activity of a FUCI protected by the Holy See, the leaders of the GUF could only harrass the Catholic students and rail against their anti-Fascism. When the rubble of World War II was cleared from the Italian cities and countryside, it was the young members of the FUCI and ex-fucini such as Guido Gonella, Aldo Moro, Giulio Andreotti, Benino Zaccagnini and Giovanni Battista Montini who took the lead in the reconstruction of a Christian democratic Italy.

NOTES

[1]"Discorso al senato sugli accordi del Laterano," in Benito Mussolini, Opera omnia di Benito Mussolini: Dagli accordi del Laterano al dodicesimo anniversario della fondazione dei fasci (Florence, 1958), p. 101.

[2]See, for example, Pietro Scoppola, La Chiesa e il fascismo: Documenti ed interpretazioni (Rome: Laterza, 1976); A. C. Jemolo, Church and State in Italy, 1850-1950 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960); Daniel A. Binchy, Church and State in Fascist Italy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), reprint; and Richard J. Wolff, "Catholicism, Fascism and Italian Education from the Riforma Gentile to the Carta della Scuola, 1922-1939, "History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1980: 3-26.

[3]Edward Tannenbaum, The Fascist Experience: Italian Society and Culture, 1922-1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 168.

[4]As late as 1939, only 2.9% of the university aged population were enrolled in the various faculties of higher education. The statistics were taken from the Annuario Statistico Italiano (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato G. C., 1939). The computations are mine.

[5]Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Gioventu Universitaria Fascista, busta 7, "G.U.F.: Ordinamento e norme per il loro funzionamento", 1932. Hereafter A.C.S., GUF.

[6]A.C.S., GUF, busta 1, "Bizze, regolamento GUF," anno XV, articolo III.

[7]A.C.S., GUF, busta 1, "Circolari del PNF," 17 October 1930.

[8]See, in particular, issues of Libro e Moschetto from 1935 to 1943.

[9]Edward Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 129.

[10]A.C.S., GUF, b. 1-23. Also, Michael A. Ledeen, "Italian Fascism and Youth", Journal of Contemporary History (v. 4, no. 3) July 1969, p. 141

[11]G. Marcucci Fanello, Storia della FUCI (Rome: Editrice Studium, 1972), p. 60.

[12]Atti e documenti del XIV Congresso Cattolico Italiano: Friesole, 1896 (Padova, 1897), pp. 18ff.

[13]See, for example, Guido Gonella's articles "I giovani italiani hanno un maestro di vita," Azione Fucina, 10 February 1929 and "Cattolicismo ed idealismo," Azione Fucina, 23 June 1929.

[14]Guido Gonella, "I rapporti fra lo stato e la Chiesa," Azione Fucina, 1 September 1929; "Discussione," Studium 10-11 (October-November 1929): 374.

[15]Montini publicly tried to make the best of the agreement which he felt compromised the Church (see Giovanni Battista Montini, "Ai fucini: parole buone dopo i fatti grandi," Azione Fucina, 24 February 1929). However, in his private correspondence, he expressed genuine misgivings concerning the wisdom of the Lateran Accords (Montini to Padre Bevilacqua, 9 January 1929 in Antonio Fappani and Franco Molinari, Giovanni Battista Montini giovane: documenti inediti e testimonianze (Rome: Marietti, 1979), p. 260.

[16]G.B. Montini, "L'enciclica sull'educazione," Azione Fucina 20 January 1930.

[17]See, for example, E. Rossi, "Le condizioni religiose in Germania dopo il concordato con la Santa Sede," Studium 9-10 (August-September 1934): 532 and Emilio Guano, "I giudei e Gesu," Studium 5 (May 1937): 312.

[18]Quoted in Maria Cristina Giuntella, "L'organizzazione universitaria Fascista e la federazione universitaria cattolica in una relazione del G.U.F. di Viterbo," Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XXVI, 1972, no. 1, p. 135.

[19]Pio XI, "Ai soci del circolo romano 6-3-28," in Discorsi agli universitari (Rome: Editrice Studium, 1932), p. 14.

[20]A.C.S., Ministero dell'interno, Direzione Generale di Pubblica Sicurenzza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, 1920-1945. Cat. G-1, busta 146. Azione Cattolica. "Prefect of Treviso to the Minister of Interior," 9 June 1935. Hereafter, A.C.S., Min. Int., D.G.P.S., A.G.R.

[21]A.C.S., Min. Int., D.G.P.S., A.G.R., Cat. C-2, pacco 83. "Prefect of Macerata to the Minister of Interior," 26 August 1926.

[22]Ibid. "Mon. Luigi Ferretti to S.E. Benito Bussolini," 28 August 1926; Pio XI, op. cit...

[23]A.C.S., Min. Int., D.G.P.S., A.G.R., Cat. G-1, busta 19, fascicolo 221. Prefettura di Roma," 16 May 1931; Idem., busta 183. "Incidenti tra fascisti e cattolici, 1931". Also, see A. Baroni, Igino Righetti (Rome: Studium, 1946), p. 98.

[24]See "La gioventù fascista e quella cattolica possono collaborare?" Libro e Moschetto, 21 February 1929.

[25]Giovanni Battista Montini, "Ai fucini: parole buone dopo i fatti grandi", Azione Fucina, 24 February 1929.

[26]Il Lavoro Fascista, 19 March 1931.

[27]Azione Fucina, 3 May 1931.

[28]C. Delzell, ed. Mediterranean Fascism 1919-1945: Selected Documents (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 171

[29]Archivio della Presidenza della FUCI (Rome), busta Pavia. "I. Righetti to V. Borroni," 26 May 1928. Hereafter, A.P.F..

[30]A.P.F., b. Presidenza, 1919-1931. "Consiglio della Presidenza," 1 November 1930.

[31]A.C.S., GUF, busta 24, Padova. "C. Scorza to A. Lusignoli," 13 March 1931.

[32]A.P.F., b. Presidenza, 1936-1940.

[33]Maria Cristina Giuntella, op. cit., p. 134.

[34]A.P.F., b. Vaticano: Commissione Episcopale Enti Ecclessiatico; fascicolo, Autorita Ecclessiastiche; sottofascicolo, Rapporto con l'Autorità Ecclesiastiche,1932-1933.

[35]A.P.F., b. Rapporto con l'Autorità Ecclesiastiche, 1939-1945.

[36]A.P.F., b. Autorità Ecclesiastiche, 1931-1933.

[37]A.C.S., GUF, b. 7. "Il merito alla situazione politica nel campo studentesco universitario," 10 May 1931.

[38]Azione Fucina, 31 May 1931.

[39]A.C.S., GUF, b. 7 "Incidenti fra GUF e FUCI," 5 June 1931.

[40]See, for example, A.C.S., GUF b. 25, Verona. "Disciplina, gennaio 1932".

[41]A.P.F., b. Intesa, 1938.

[42]Libro e Moschetto, 9 May 1943.

[43]A.C.S., Min. Int., D.G.P.S., A.G.R., Cat. G-1, busta 19, fascicolo 221. "La prefettura di Padova," 11 November 1942.

[44]A.C.S., Min. Int., D.G.P.S., A.G.R., Cat., G-1, busta 19, fascicolo 221. Divisione Polizia Politica, "Relazione Fiduciana sulla FUCI," 18 April 1942.

Academic Year	Members of the Fuci			University Students			Percentage Enrolled in the Fuci		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female	Total %
1928/29	No Figures		2,370	35,598	4,801	40,399	No Figures		5,86
1929/30	No Figures			38,953	5,987	44,940	No Figures		
1930/31	No Figures			40,120	6,142	46,262	No Figures		
1931/32	No Figures			41,099	6,515	47,614	No Figures		
1932/33	No Figures			45,968	6,704	52,672	No Figures		
1933/34	1,170	910	2,680	49,781	7,513	57,294	3,55	12,1	4,67
1934/35	1,884	988	2,872	53,746	8,274	62,020	3,50	11,9	4,63
1935/36	2,133	1,203	3,336	55,335	9,609	64,944	3,85	12,5	5,13
1936/37	1,864	1,252	3,116	59,961	11,551	71,512	3,10	10,8	4,35
1937/38	2,158	1,224	3,382	61,564	13,363	74,909	3,50	9,15	4,51
1938/39	1,751	1,291	3,042	62,345	15,084	77,429	2,80	8,55	3,92
1939/40	No Figures			67,361	18,174	85,535	No Figures		
1940/41	No Figures			101,052	26,006	127,058	No Figures		
1941/42	2,546	2,099	4,645	113,629	32,164	145,793	2,24	6,52	3,18
1942/43	3,301	2,727	6,028	129,609	38,714	168,323	2,54	7,04	3,58

FIGURES FROM ARCHIVIO DELLA PRESIDENZA DELLA FUCI AND ANNUARIO STATISTICO DELL ISTRUZIONE ITALIANA